

# The Republican.

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## TO THE REPUBLICANS OF THE ISLAND OF ALBION.

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Dorchester Gaol, Jan. 14, Year  
48 of the first real Republic.

CITIZENS,

FORTY-EIGHT years have elapsed since "COMMON SENSE" first appeared in America, every one of which may be termed an eventful year; and every year hereafter must be an eventful year, both to America and Europe, until COMMON SENSE finds a universal triumph among their inhabitants.

However ignorant and vicious men may calumniate the name of Thomas Paine, they cannot alter the fact, that he was the author of "COMMON SENSE," and THE FATHER OF MODERN REPUBLICS. It is easy to light a torch at a strong fire, which all those countries are doing that are now forming Republics; but the merit of having kindled that strong fire is wholly Thomas Paine's. Washington would have fought for, and have conquered nothing but monarchical privileges, had not Paine proclaimed INDEPENDENCE and a REPUBLIC. This fact is so clear to those who have read the writings of Paine, that a friend of mine emphatically stiles the United States of North America, PAINE'S LAND.

Lately looking over some old numbers of a weekly pamphlet, issued from Sherborne, and extensively circulated over the West of England, I met with an account of one of those blind, popular vagaries, which so generally disgraced this country, about the year 1793, in hanging or burning the effigy of Thomas Paine! Though too young, at the particular time, to recollect a scene of this kind, well do I remember, that when first suffered to roam the streets and fields with other boys, the cry was still common about making bonfires to burn old Tom Paine! Oft have I toiled a whole

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day to gather faggots for this purpose, and though delighted with the sight of a great fire, I knew not why Tom Paine was an object fit to be burnt; still I laboured in this pursuit with the same assiduity as a zealous idolator recurs to his priest and his temple, and with about the same quantity of reason and benefit. Time, which unfolds all our follies, either to ourselves or successors, has, I am proud to say, unfolded this of mine to me in good season; and as a copy of a statement of one of these vagaries may be worthy of being preserved, and at the same time be useful, with the aid of a few comments, in exciting reflections in many who have been, or who have not been engaged in such scenes, I will here introduce the particulars of what took place at Topsham, a town in Devonshire, on the river Ex, about five miles from Exeter.

TO THE PRINTER OF THE WEEKLY ENTERTAINER.

SIR,

January 29, 1793.

THE following being both an exact plan, and a strictly true account of the Topsham procession last week, the most respectable and best conducted thing of the kind, that has happened in the west country, perhaps it would afford pleasure to the well-wishers of the present King and constitution, to learn, by your means, the particulars: and it may not be impossible, that so bright an example may kindle the flame of loyalty in the breasts of many of the subjects of the British crown; at all events, by giving it a place in your next Entertainer, you will oblige many of your customers, and, peradventure, serve the cause of humanity and of this country.

I am, Sir, yours, &c.,

A. B.

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*An Account of the Procession made by the loyal Inhabitants of the Parish of Topsham, in Devon., on Tuesday, January 22, 1793, to express their Attachment to our Gracious Sovereign King George the Third, and the present happy Constitution of this Realm.*

At half an hour past eight o'clock in the morning, the drum, and fifes accompanying it, beat through the town, to acquaint the inhabitants that the procession was forming on a convenient spot at the lower end of Sir Alexander Hamilton's lawn, at the entrance of the town; and by half an hour past nine o'clock, the whole was arranged in the order exhibited in the annexed plan.

Every face was illumined by joy; the word was given to march; the band struck up the favourite tune of *God save the King*, and the whole procession moved forwards: after proceeding through

the main street, and all the other principal streets, with great order and regularity; the cavalcade visited the houses of all the country gentlemen in the parish, before whose doors the whole passed in review, the band playing *God save the King*, it having been relieved, at intervals upon the march, by the drum and fifes. It is proper here to remark, that our worthy magistrate and parishioner, Sir Alexander Hamilton, had ordered the gates at the lower end of the lawn to be thrown open to the procession only, which, following the tract of the coach road, was sometime in passing on to the lodge gate, through which it entered again upon the turnpike road.

The serenity and fineness of the day, the echoes from the distant hills; which seemed to repeat, with unusual distinctness and precision, every note of the loyal and favourite tune; the hilarity of the individuals who composed the procession, and the politeness of Lady H——, who stood with her friends under the portico in front of the house, till the whole had passed: and the shouts of the innumerable multitude which remained in the road, without side the park pales, occasioned such sensations as no one who was not present can easily conceive.

About two o'clock in the afternoon the cavalcade returned to the place from whence it set out, and in less than a quarter of an hour, every person had dispersed quietly and fully satisfied.—The effigy was placed in an empty house upon the spot, which happened, most conveniently for the present occasion, to be uninhabited, and six men mounted guard over it, to prevent its being either injured or destroyed by the populace, who all along had expressed the utmost detestation at the conduct of the original, whom the effigy was intended to represent. At three o'clock the guard was relieved with drum and fifes, which martial manœuvre highly delighted the lower class of people.

At four o'clock the whole procession re-assembled at the head of the town, exactly in the same order expressed in the annexed plan of the morning cavalcade, and preceded by the band, playing *God save the King*, arrived at a roomy space, in the middle of the town, intended for the new market-house: here the effigy was very properly addressed by a person who attended for that purpose: Thomas Paine's execrable book, entitled the Rights of Man, together with some other publications of the same nature, and a hand-bill which had been dispersed amongst the inhabitants, to endeavour to dissuade them from shewing their loyalty, and their hatred of Thomas Paine, in the manner here mentioned, but which encountered universal and deserved contempt, was first burnt by the hands of the executioner, and then the effigy was hung in the usual manner, amidst the shouts and acclamations of the surrounding populace; upon its being cut down the men under arms fired a volley, and the acclamations were repeated.

The effigy was then conducted to a point of land, a little dis-



tance from the town, forming a part of the bank of the river Ex, the procession preserving the greatest order and regularity as before, where, after being put in chains, the effigy was hung upon a gibbet 50 feet high, where it is likely to remain a monument of the peoples' loyalty, till destroyed by the injuries of time, or the elements. The men under arms now fired another volley, and the people sung, and the band played, *God save the King*: a hogshead of cyder was distributed amongst the populace to drink the King's health, when every one dispersed as quietly, and as orderly, and as much satisfied as in the morning, expressing to each other their sincere attachment to, and hearty resolution to die in defence of their King and the constitution.

The officers of the navy and army, resident at Topsham, and the Gentlemen of the town, repaired to the Assembly-Room, at the Salutation Inn, to drink the King's health; and the Rev. Mr. Carrington being unanimously requested to take the chair, and having complied in a very obliging and polite manner, many loyal toasts were drank, and many excellent songs were sung, particularly one printed and dispersed amongst the company upon the occasion. The whole terminated with the utmost festivity, decency, and good humour, to the entire satisfaction of all present.

It must afford great pleasure to the public to hear, notwithstanding the prodigious concourse of people assembled upon this loyal occasion, not the slightest accident happened to any one.

In justice to the managers, it is fair to observe, that the whole was under the conduct and appointment of William Newport, jun. Esq., Lieutenant in his Majesty's late 90th regiment, assisted by Thomas Langford Brown, Esq., Lieutenant in the Queen's American Rangers; Mr. James Carrington, junior, Mr. Kingston of the Custom House, and Mr. J. Woolcombe.

On the Thursday night following, the gentlemen of the town gave a ball to the ladies (and a supper,) who were only admitted by subscribers' tickets.

On Tuesday and Thursday an elegant painting of a regal crown, with King and constitution, in gold letters, underneath, was displayed over the chimney piece in the Assembly-Room, at the Salutation Inn, where it is ordered to remain, to perpetuate the circumstances of those two memorable days.

—*Constitutio vivant Rexque Regina.*

*Form of the Topsham Procession on Tuesday, January 22, 1793, for burning the effigy of Thomas Paine, Author of the libellous Tract, entitled the "Rights of Man."*

Three Town Constables.

Drum and two Fifes.

Two Gentlemen Managers on horseback in the constitutional uniform.



The Captain of the men under arms.

Six men under arms to guard the colours.

Colours.

A young gentleman on horseback, on each side, to carry the fly of the colours, both dressed in the constitutional uniform.

Six men under arms to guard the colours.

BAND.

Three hautboys, two horns, and a bassoon.

Twelve additional constables, two and two, to guard the cart with the effigy of Tom Paine.

Four Gentlemen Managers on horseback, in the constitutional uniform.

Two riding constables to form the cavalcade as they joined, and to preserve order.

Grand Cavalcade of 126 horsemen, with sashes and cockades, and many in the constitutional uniform.

About 4000 foot, with cockades in their hats.

Foot colours.

Ship carpenters carrying the implements of their trade.

Blacksmiths and anchorsmiths, ditto.

On reading this account, I could not but reflect upon the probable number out of this four or five thousand who have since seen their folly, and who have sought refuge from this *King and Constitution* in the country formed by him whose effigy they gibbeted; the only country on the face of the earth, that offers a safe and advantageous residence to the emigrant!

How despicable the proceeding! Here are all the inhabitants of a town and its neighbourhood assembled to insult the effigy of the most useful man that has yet lived. Here are arms and music, colours and ribbons, horses, (and asses in abundance) cart and effigy, gallows, chains and gibbet! Here is an orator talking to an effigy who would have been speechless had he stood before Thomas Paine himself. There was the great philosopher in France assisting as a senator and statesman in the performance of greater deeds than the world ever saw before; and here, at Topsham and other places, are an ignorant, brutal, ruffainly rabble, insulting a few old rags, insulting the name of the man who was to them a real saviour from misery and degradation! These were Jews indeed! Some of the alleged prophetic parts of the Books would apply to this mad Topsham rabble.

The writer of the foregoing account, says, that "*the effigy was hung upon a gibbet fifty feet high, where it is likely to remain a monument of the peoples' loyalty, till destroyed by the injuries of time, or the elements.*" I knew Topsham

well about the years 1809, 10, and 11, was frequently there, and in and throughout its neighbourhood; but I neither saw nor heard any thing of this gibbetting of the effigy of Thomas Paine. It was all a delusion, and forgotten before I had seen twenty years of age. A copy of the Rights of Man was burnt as an " execrable book !" but to what purpose ? That was not the only copy : it has been since reprinted again and again, to inform us that the people of Topsham, at the close of the last century, were a stupid, ignorant, and brutal people, in thus dealing with a man and his book, who lived and wrote for their benefit. The " Rights of Man," instead of being an " execrable book," is truly and literally THE POOR MAN'S FRIEND. It contains the most important instruction upon whatever is correct in politics, and is one unbroken chain of moral sentences, in defence of a people against a monarchical and aristocratical oppression. Paine was the most chaste, as well as the most clear, and most useful of writers. It is not within my knowledge, that he penned one immoral, one cruel, or one unjust sentence. The whole of his writings, hitherto published, are now become a standard collection, in open sale, and there is not a truly intelligent man in this Island, but has read them. To know what Paine has written, is, at this moment, absolutely necessary to elevate the individual to a participation in the general knowledge of the age. I never found that man yet to abuse the name of Thomas Paine, who had fairly read his writings; and I never found the man, but he was comparatively a fool, who had not read them. They formed a revolution in political science, and nothing has been since added to improve that new view. Paine was in political science, what Galileo was in the science of astronomy. The one made us clearly comprehend the planetary motions; the other, the popular motions. The one taught us that all other planets were not subservient to the earth : the other, that a people ought not to be subservient to the views of kings and priests. The one told us that the earth was but a small part of a solar system; the other, that kings and priests were not a necessary part of any political system. Both were men of worth and genius, and both were persecuted by the Priests and the rabble which they perpetuate. Such was the Topsham rabble. We see a parson Carrington and his son, conspicuous as leaders and managers on this occasion; and it is known all over Devonshire, that the county does not contain a more immoral family than this parson

has brought up. Every one who knows the family, has some anecdote of vice to relate of them.

I would appeal to the people, who inhabit Topsham at this day, to say what they now think about "King and Constitution;" what they now think about Thomas Paine and the "Rights of man?" But few of his political writings have gone among them; still I would not fear to trust myself there, in defence of them, upon that change of feeling which experience has produced. Thomas Paine is dead, the struggle in and with France is over, for the present; and now, can the Topsham people console themselves on their conduct in performing this *asinine drama, this mock tragedy of gibbeting the effigy*.

What do we now see? PAINE'S LAND, the United States of North America, the most powerful and only real prosperous country on the face of the earth! What do we now see? Topsham people flying to the shrine of Paine for shelter from their *King and Constitution*! What do we now see? The English King and Constitution, a second rate power, courting the alliance of Paine's political system! What do we now see? The politics of Paine about to rule the world! Yes! we see all this, we see the scoffed, the burnt, the gibbeted Paine, living in triumph, and the "Rights of Man," the most flattered political pamphlet of the day! To your sackcloth and ashes, O people of England, for not listening when Paine first spake to you! He acknowledged the land of his birth, and risked his life to benefit it; but you were too dull, too much priest-ridden, to understand what he said to you. Then mourn for the wretchedness which you have cherished, until you can recover the vantage ground on which he would have placed you. He was the first man to point out to you the consequence of your huge debt; he was to you the most perfect prophet, and yet you rejected him! He offered you a saving hand, and you spurned him! He wept for your erroneous obstinacy, and you reviled and mocked! He was the Jesus whom you crucified!

It is at the same time, both a pleasing and a painful task, to examine our former errors and ignorance, pleasing to find that we have improved; painful to think that we were once so deficient; but we should never be ashamed to own that deficiency and our present improvement; because such a change is of all things the most praiseworthy: it guarantees future, as well as announces present improvement; and benefit is derived from every reflection. So with the present people of Topsham and other places: I impute no blame to



them for what they or their fathers once did; but call upon them to join the throng in present and future improvement. Let them repair the results of past misdeeds by a resolute determination to seek the right for the future: let them cease to be the blind instruments of unjust powers, and learn what Paine has written about the *becoming independence of a people*, about the RIGHTS OF MAN, about the AGE OF REASON.

There are but two things required to make a people happy as a society, and powerful as a nation: these two things are good laws, and good magistrates. There is but one thing that can perpetuate these two good things, and that is, that they should emanate from popular elections, where the interest of all is identified. This is the whole of my political creed; call it republican, or what you please; and this I have learnt by condensing the political creed of Thomas Paine. This is the pith and meaning of his *Common Sense*, his *Rights of Man*, his *Age of Reason*, and of all that he ever wrote; therefore, they who abuse him and me, abuse themselves.

There is but one means of working a lasting reform, and that is so to instruct a people as to equalize their knowledge. You will in vain call in the aid of force, or physical power, to work useful reforms, unless you seek to establish future systems upon popular knowledge. We have instances of this in Naples, Piedmont, Spain, and Portugal, and even in France. Free discussion will work every species of useful reform quietly, without any bloodshed: and nothing but free discussion is equal to this most desirable end. Let those who oppose it take to themselves the epithets of violent, cruel, and bloodthirsty.

As a specimen of the many mean tricks which the Christians use to deter from and to discountenance the practice of free discussion, take the following letter sent to a bookseller in Manchester, and written with red ink.

SIR,

I AM surprised that a man of your stability and character should uphold such an infamous doctrine as that promulgated by the late Thomas Paine. If I could obtain bread by no other means than the sale of his impious writings I would fain starve: let me entreat you (as a Christian) as you value the salvation of your soul, to take out of your windows the doctrine disseminated by such a *bad* man, lest the world should think you equally as *bad*: in the eye of the law, naturally speaking, "the receiver is reckoned as *bad* as the thief" how much more, in the eye of God, shall they suffer who despise and reject "his Son, even Christ Jesus;" and do not you

do so by countenancing the writings of Thomas Paine? When I pass your window I exclaim with the poet,

Fie! for shame! Thomas Paine,  
To live is Christ, to die is gain.

Be advised, and I exhort you in the name of Christ, to desist from evil, lest destruction come suddenly upon you. Fear God, honour the King!

This is just like saying to the bookseller, if *you continue to sell the writings of Paine, I will pursue you with my Christian vengeance and do you all the injury I can.* But in spite of this secret menacing, I am happy to say, that I have accounts from many parts of the country, that different booksellers, who have hitherto feared to take an order for my publications, are now beginning to say, *that they will take orders from those who wish to order them; but that they will not keep them in open sale.* I will drive them to the keeping of the books on sale; for I will go on to set up a bookseller in every town of note, who as well mine shall take orders for and sell every other kind of book where mine cannot be otherwise obtained.

But if we look at the sense of this letter, what a wretched composition do we find it. Here is a Christian sending a threatening letter and concealing his name! Here is a man denouncing the writings of Thomas Paine to a neighbour, as infamous, and afraid to say who, or what, he is! The fellow, for it looks like a he fellow's writing, says, if he could not obtain bread by other means than selling the writings of Paine, he would starve. I doubt his resolution; and if so, he would only be a fool for his pains. There is no reaching the ears or eyes of such a fellow as this; but if it could be done, I should ask him, if ever he had read any one of the pamphlets written by Thomas Paine. I warrant, that he has not, unless he be a priest; for if he had, he could not defame them. Never did I know a disinterested man to read them first, and to defame them afterwards.

But such villains, as the writer of this letter, know that they can alarm timid people even by these penny post letters and anonymous threats; and they make it a part of their business to rob individuals, who are honest enough to avow their opinions, by such letters, and to harrass them with menace of every kind. I have received hundreds of such letters; but always returned them to the post office, if unpaid, or burnt them if paid. Vain will be the efforts of such mean

creatures, the writings of Thomas Paine will force their way to every person's examination, and free discussion is a matter of such a great importance, in every view that can be taken of it, that it can no longer be denied on the one side, nor relinquished on the other.

All kinds of similar attempts have been made upon Mrs. Carlile, and other females, who have stood forward in the shop: in many instances the house has been threatened with fire; threats of defamation upon their characters as females; and every menace that a villain might suppose calculated to alarm a female mind, has been used; but these Christians must see that such efforts are vain: they do see it, and it is now rare that they molest us.

RICHARD CARLILE.

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TO THE EDITOR OF THE REPUBLICAN.

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DEAR SIR,

Stockport, January 5, 1824.

As the spirit and intent of your useful publication "The Republican," seems to be, the diffusion of general and scientific information; I have drawn up the following remarks, that, if you deem them any way conducive to that end, you may give them insertion.

It gives me much pleasure to observe, that some of your ingenious correspondents near Leeds, have engaged in an enquiry of the mental energies of human kind: which being the spring of all moral action, is certainly an enquiry of the first importance: an enquiry which ought to engage the attention of every citizen of the civilized world: and which, in course of time, may be productive of inestimable sources of pleasure to the human race; and becomes more important as it involves the interest of every man, both as an individual and member of society. What avail the struggles of one man? You may write, and we may read; but, unless men will stand forward and join you in the great cause of mental emancipation, the work must go tardily on. You have indeed done wonders, far beyond what our most sanguine hopes could have anticipated: but, there is much to be done, and it is our duty to assist in exploring the secrets of nature, and in endeavouring to ameliorate the condition of man, fearless and careless of whoever may attempt to reprobate our proceedings; but at the same time, our enquiries ought to be conducted with that spirit of moderation, which distinguishes the character of philosophy from that of bigoted fanatics, by avoiding all rancorous



expressions, or any thing which may tend to irritate the feelings of those who are so unfortunate as to be chained down by the galling fetters of designing priests; such irritations cannot do good, and may be productive of much evil. It may be alleged, that, unless we probe the afflicted part, we cannot expect to perform a radical cure; this is readily granted, but, let it be done with the gentle hand of humanity, which comes to do good; and not with the vengeful sword of resentment, which hath so often disgraced the blood-stained track of religious ignorance. I have not dropped this hint with any allusion to the discourse of our Leeds friend, Mr. Penny. No, my good fellow-citizen, I applaud your undertaking; go on, press forward to dispel those dark clouds of superstition, which have destroyed the fairest features of intellectual energy, and untuned the sweetest chords of the human heart: you shall be successful, and let every friend of truth imitate your laudable example.

In the discussions of the material or immaterial properties of intellect, much confusion has arisen from the want of a proper division and disposal of the parts: this appears to have arisen chiefly from a principle of selfishness: each party wishing to engross the whole subject. The materialist will have a whole material soul or none; while, on the other hand, the spiritualist is unwilling to take his departure from the immaterial abodes, and leave any particle of his dear immateriality behind; wherefore, he is determined to have a whole soul too. However, upon a fair investigation, this subject appears to divide itself into two parts, viz. physical and moral intellect. Which division, I shall endeavour to illustrate, and to draw a line of distinction to prevent mistakes in future.

1st. PHYSICAL INTELLECT, by which we must understand that part which is coeval with animal existence, comprehending life and sensation; independant of knowledge. This part is purely material.

2d. MORAL INTELLECT, which defines itself to be a knowledge of surrounding objects, gained from their impressions made upon our senses, and thence conveyed to the sensorium, or seat of intellect. This part is merely an echo.

I cannot offer an example to elucidate this distinction, better, than that of a man in a state of profound sleep; he is in full possession of physical intellect, whilst the moral part is absent, he is possessed of feeling, yet he feels not, of hearing, yet he hears not, his visual organs have not lost their powers, yet he cannot discern that which is passing around him; yet he lives, and he breathes, but is void of understanding; in a word, he possesses nothing more or less, than physical intellect; take away moral intellect and he becomes a living, breathing machine, without any determinate use; take away physical intellect, and he becomes a piece of clay.

Physical intellect is purely material. In order to illustrate, and

to establish this position, it becomes necessary for us to say from what element we draw its material properties; and this, I take to be from that oxygenial electric fluid, or principle of pure fire, which pervades all sensible space, imparting life and motion to every object with which it comes in contact, if properly organized to receive its influence. And here an objection may be raised: that if any part of intellect be matter, all matter being in a constant state of change, if it do not receive a constant supply, it must waste and decay. This objection is unquestionably right, and may be easily removed. Do not we, at every breath we draw, inhale a portion of that living fluid, in the common air, which the lungs digest, and having fixed the oxygen, the remainder is cast off as an excrement. Indeed the lungs seem to perform the same office for the physical intellect, that the stomach performs for the body; the stomach receives the nutriment congenial to the nature of the body, which having converted into chyle, it disperses through the veins and bones, and thus sustains the frame, and renews that which has been carried off by insensible perspiration, or otherwise. In like manner the lungs inhale the atmosphere, and fix the oxygen, which oxygen thence disperses itself through the nervous system, to support life and sensation, and in its departure from the body carries off with it the insensible perspiration, and is thus returned to its parent element. In order to gain just perceptions of the physical properties of intellect, it will be necessary for us to trace it from its first state of existence, or independant identity. We may observe, upon the first impulse toward sexual enjoyment, a more than ordinary degree of heat, or fire, rush towards those parts, which are immediately connected with the act of generation, carrying with them those grosser particles of matter, which are indispensibly necessary to the fulfilment of the end. We may also observe, that, upon such occasions, a more than usual force of respiration is required; which I call, a gathering of physical intellect, (as you would collect an electric spark;) which gathering, is necessary to supply that which is about to disengage itself from the parent, in the formation of a new being, and to support the equilibrium of nature; yet nature requires some time to perform this part of her task, and, consequently, the parent feels for some time posterior to this act, languid and dull.

In support of this part of the subject, I shall make an extract from the ingenious Dr. Hunter. "As" says he, "the parts of generation are not necessary for the support and existence of the individual, but have a reference to something else in which the mind has a principal concern; so a complete action in those parts cannot take place without a perfect harmony of body and of mind: that is, there must be both a power of body, and disposition of mind; for the mind is subject to a thousand alarms which affect the actions of these parts. Copulation is an act of the body, the spring of which is in the mind; but it is not vo-

lition; and, according to the state of the mind, so is the act performed. To perform this act well, the body should be in health, and the mind perfectly confident of the powers of the body: the mind should be in a state entirely disengaged from every thing else; it should have no difficulties, no fears, no apprehensions, not even an anxiety to perform the act well, for, even this anxiety is a state of mind different from what should prevail, there should not be even a fear that the mind itself may find a difficulty at the time the act should be performed; perhaps no function of the machine depends so much upon the state of the mind, as this; the will and reasoning faculties have nothing to do with this power, they are only employed in the act, so far as voluntary parts are made use of; and, if they ever interfere, which they sometimes do, it often produces another state of mind, which destroys that which is proper for the performance of the act; it produces a desire, a wish, a hope, which are all only diffidence and uncertainty, and which create in the mind, the idea of a possibility of the want of success, which destroys the proper state of mind, or necessary confidence." The doctor observes, as you see above, that the will and reasoning faculties have nothing to do with this power, and if you consider attentively, you will find that it is so: these belong to moral intellect; whereas, in the present case, it is the force of physical intellect that is chiefly wanted; and if moral intellect rush in upon it too freely, and gain the ascendancy, it diverts it from its object: and thus it seems to lose its power. A variety of natural and substantial circumstances might be adduced in support of this hypothesis, but enough has been said to warrant the following conclusion, viz. that the body and physical intellect form but one identity.

Let us next endeavour to trace the embryo, from that state in which it appears a chaotic mass, until we find it entering into the busy stage of life, in the fair form of man; but we must not enter into a discourse upon midwifery: we must confine our attention chiefly to the investigation of the progress of physical intellect: and here I wish it to be fairly understood, that I consider the foetus to possess life, and sensation, in its own proper identity, from the very instant of copulation: dependant only upon the mother for succour, as a vegetable is dependant upon the earth: in distinction from your opinion which seems to be that its physical intellectual powers are not imparted till about the mid-time of gestation, or what is commonly termed the time of quickening; just ask yourself the following question, and we shall perhaps find ourselves agreed upon this point. If the foetus be four months in the uterus, in a state of dead matter, can it afterwards receive life? Or, if it can, does it inherit any portion of that life from its father? You will certainly say no, yet it does inherit life from its father, therefore possesses life and sensation, and, consequently, physical intellect from the very instant of copulation. I do not



aver that it possesses lively sensations, neither does it possess physical powers sufficient to the developement of its weak sensible faculties; but is warmed and cherished by the genial heat of the mother, and thus is gradually brought forward until it has acquired strength sufficient to exert these innate powers, and this is what is commonly termed the time of quickening. This part of the subject may, perhaps, be sufficiently understood, but in order to guard against misapprehension, I shall give the following short example. Take a small splinter of wood, or any other substance which is barely sufficient to support a flame, having kindled it at one end, hold it in a damp place and you will immediately perceive it grow weaker; before it is altogether extinguished, bring it near to the fire and it will immediately gain strength and vigour. This is a simple experiment and comes often under our notice in common life, and is exactly in analogy with the present case. The foetus, if brought in contact with the common atmospheric air, its physical intellect, or vital principle, would escape for want of sufficient strength in its own personal identity to retain it, but being surrounded by the vital fluids of the mother, the tender flame is cherished and supported, until it becomes a proper organized being, capable of inhaling and expelling vital air, by the action of its lungs and other faculties, after the manner of mature life. You will perhaps tell me that this is all speculation; but remove yourself to a cold part of your room, take a draught of cold water, or any other cooling drink, and then let me ask you how you feel your spirits: Oh, very dull, certainly you must be dull, you have chased away half your vital part by a superior force of cold. On the contrary, place yourself by a good fire, take a dram of ardent spirits, and then let me ask you how you feel? very cheerily. Yes, the wheels of life are driving fast; you are possessed of much more than your usual quantity of physical intellect. Try this experiment, consult your feelings, and then tell me whether it is all speculation.

We will here dismiss this part of the subject, and take into our review, a human being in full possession of his physical intellectual powers; and to this review I particularly solicit the attention of your correspondent, Mr. J. E. C., as in his letter of the 24th of Nov., No. 24, Vol. VIII., he seems to rest the basis of his argument upon the non-inherent powers of unintelligent nature to produce intellect: "superior," says he, "and at the same time inferior, is an enigma you cannot solve;" literally it is so, but in my opinion, you give it a very good solution in your note of a barrel of gunpowder; let that gunpowder come in contact with fire, and then it is certainly your superior; but whilst you can confine it to certain modes of existence, it is certainly your inferior; "Intellect being matter," says he, "and matter not intellect, is confusion confused." He seems to think this impregnable: however,

if he will give us his attention, we will endeavour to draw order out of this confusion.

Imagine to yourself a man having every sense in full power and ability, but who hath never received a sensation; that is, entirely devoid of moral intellect. Set him before you, but let him not even feel the ground on which he stands. J. E. C. labours hard to establish the position, that nature, or divinity, contains a will and imparts it to man; but let him examine this subject as he comes from the hand of nature, and see whether he can find any thing like a will attached to him. Does he will to feel any of these sensations arising from different degrees of heat? No, he knoweth not the difference betwixt heat, and cold; he hath never felt its influence. Does he will to have the fair field of nature opened before his eyes? It is impossible; he knoweth of no such thing as nature. Does he will to have any knowledge of a God? Alas! he knoweth not the sound; and above all, he is not even conscious of his own existence; in short, he is exactly as a man in a state of sleep. He is possessed of physical intellect, he is a living breathing machine, without any determinate use. This is the school of nature, if men would always thus advert to first principles, in matters like these, they would avoid much error and confusion; and as the health of the mind seems to depend chiefly upon the free, and uninterrupted circulation of the vital fluid, by a proper investigation of its properties we might be enabled to ameliorate the condition of these unfortunate beings, who have been deprived of their reason. Can J. E. C. find any thing like what he seems to comprehend by the term intellect, attached to this piece of mechanism? I think he cannot, this will perhaps clear away some of his confusion.

We will now turn our attention to the second part of the subject; and here I would observe, that there is a connecting link betwixt moral and physical intellect, which seems to evade the strictest search of our discriminating powers; 'tis this link which exists between the will, and the arm, which your friend cannot discover; I also confess, that I cannot trace it: but I am not inclined, with your friend, to apply this to physics; here we might as well deny our own existence, as say we cannot discover a connection.

Moral intellect is merely an echo; as this part is wholly made up of ideas, it becomes necessary, in the first place, to consider what it is that constitutes an idea. An idea is a distinct piece or an atom of knowledge; therefore, a number of ideas constitute knowledge; knowledge is the result of sensations; therefore, one sensation constitutes an idea. The question now turns upon, what is a sensation? It is an impression made upon the senses by some exterior object, and by the senses conveyed to the brain, or seat of intellect. If it should be asked how this is performed, I would give the following example as a solution. Take a pipe or runnel, open above, say twelve feet long, forming two sides of a

right angle, place a mirror directly over that part where it forms the angle: let a smooth current of water pass through it, place yourself at that end where the water leaves the runnel, press your hand upon the mouth of the runnel, and you will observe a swell rise upon the surface of the water and ripple backwards until it meet the opposite angle, and will then rebound toward your hand, and as often as you repeat it, you make so many impressions upon the face of the mirror. Metaphorically, the pipe is the leading nerve, the water is the electric fluid, and the mirror is the sensorium, or seat of intellect. Thus, it appears, that we receive all our ideas, knowledge, or moral intellect, through the medium of our senses; and whatever our senses do not make manifest unto us, we do not know: you cannot tell what I now hold in my hand; if I should say it is a pen, you may take it for granted, but you cannot tell; but if you saw me with a pen in my hand, you would be absolutely certain. This is the reason there has been so much wrangling about a supreme being: he has never made himself manifest to our senses: yet this does not furnish sufficient ground to say, there is no such being: there are many things we do not know, which we must take for granted. No man would be so foolish as to say, the earth has no centre, because, he has never seen it.

Thus we have analyzed moral intellect, and find that it consists of ideas; now what are the material properties of an idea, is it earth, or air, or fire, or water? It seems a small point in our conception; would it grow any less if ten thousand millions of men should partake of it? No. What is it then? It is a passing sound, a mere echo.

We have now considered it as being possessed of ideas: but it wants those powers which are necessary to search for, arrange, and dispose, these ideas: this part of the subject has already been divided into three heads, which I believe is pretty correct, viz. *memory*, *imagination*, and *judgment*; these three appear to embrace all the diversified appearances of nature: all others, such as faith, religious conscience, &c., are nothing more than these properties subverted. Passion is a disorder of the mind and is the result of violent sensations.

In the former part, when treating of physical intellect, we considered man as destitute of these powers: let us now consider in what manner he receives them: and here again it will be necessary to imagine to ourselves a man who hath never received a sensation: he hath no memory; no, there can be no memory without knowledge; it has nothing to retain, he hath no imagination. No: imagination is the result of knowledge, without which it cannot act, it has no object to play upon; he hath no reason; this boasted faculty of the human mind has not yet assumed its seat; and what is it? It is simply a comparison performed by bringing together the two former powers; memory and imagination. Open



the spring of feeling; let him make a step upon the ground, this checks the current of his vital fluid, which, like the water in the runnel, flows back till it meets the brain, where it fixes an impression; this constitutes memory. The living fluid, flowing forward again, and being under the influence of the former shock, expects to receive another sensation, this constitutes *will* and *imagination*. Let him step again; this gives him another sensation, and makes a comparison, which constitutes reason. We may now let loose all his senses at once, in doing which, we add no new faculty to his moral intellect, but merely strengthen those already acquired.

And here, we may observe, that, according to the impressions we give it, or allow it to receive, just so, we, in a great measure, form the moral intellect good, or bad; it is wholly a piece of human manufacture. The pope, with all his train of attendants, cardinals, bishops, priests, &c., will produce you genuine catholic intellect: the Protestant manufactures it purely anti-Catholic; and the Methodist imbibes into his frame, the pure spirit of Methodism: and you, Mr. Carlile, you have commenced doing a little in this business of late, but I expect, that you, unlike the former, will imbibe into yours the true spirit of virtue.

This letter has swelled to a much greater size than I originally intended; but in order to establish a fair understanding, and to satisfy my own mind, I could not have said much less. You will perceive that I have not pressed upon every part of the subject; this was intentional, as I expect that some of your correspondents will give us their views of it: it is of much importance, and as you are now opening a new volume, I expect to see some light thrown upon the subject, before it is finished. You will also perceive, that I have been endeavouring to shew you some points, which you, as well as many others, must have already known: however, as they laid in my way, I have taken them in for the sake of illustration. My principal intention was to draw a line of distinction betwixt physical and moral intellect; how far I have succeeded, must wait the determination of your intelligent readers.

I am, Sir, your most obedient Servant,

THOMAS MACKINTOSH.

Note by R. Carlile. I am much pleased with the above article. Mr. Mackintosh takes just the same view of intellect, as I have done in reviewing the Methodist pamphlets of John Smith, and T. Allin; only he has adopted a distinguishing term for each sort of sensation. His *moral intellect* is clearly that which I have described as a third sensation, generated by two others, by the power of comparison, reflection, imagination, &c., and I think he has named them properly: or whether, as intellect is a result of sensation,

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they had not better be termed *physical and moral sensations*, as a more common and clear philosophical term, I leave him and others to decide.

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CORRESPONDENCE WITH DR. ENGLAND.

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TO THE REVEREND DOCTOR ENGLAND,  
STAFFORD, NEAR DORCHESTER.

SIR,

Dorchester Gaol, Jan. 4, 1824.

I TAKE the liberty to enclose a printed letter, which I have addressed to you. If you can detect error in it, and communicate it to me, you will find the acknowledgment of having done me one piece of good service in addition to the loan of Lardner, for which I thank you.

I am, Sir, your obedient Servant,

RICHARD CARLILE.

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TO MR. CARLILE.

SIR,

Stafford, near Dorchester, Jan. 5, 1824.

I DESIRE to acknowledge the receipt of your Pamphlet called the Republican, dated, Jan. 2d, which you have thought proper to address to me.

I was in hopes that the books which I had put into your hands, together with the arguments and conversation you have had with the Chaplain of the Gaol, so well qualified for that situation, might have carried conviction to your mind, which I lament, seems to be shut against all conviction whatever. When you say, that you hope to overthrow the Unitarian, and Trinitarian system, I beg to caution you against the danger of overthrowing your own "Hopes of Glory" hereafter, by rejecting, in so contemptuous a manner, your "Means of Grace" here. It behoves you seriously to consider the awful consequences of your determined and wilful rejection of divine grace and goodness—and that you must be accountable to that Lord and Saviour, now the subject of your profane derision. I take the liberty of applying to you, what was said of a late infidel writer, that "It was a pity that he had not made a better use of his abilities and talents, which might have laid a just foundation for acquiring the praise he seems so fond of, as well as rendered him really useful to the world, if he had been as industrious to employ them in serving and promoting the excellent cause of religion, as he hath unhappily been in endeavouring to weaken and expose it."

I am, Sir, your humble Servant,

W. ENGLAND.

TO THE REVEREND DOCTOR ENGLAND,  
STAFFORD, NEAR DORCHESTER.

SIR,

Dorchester Gaol, Jan. 16, 1824.

I DULY received yours of the 5th, and, as I cannot tacitly assent to your imputations upon my conduct, I have waited the close of the Quarter Sessions to address you.

First: You assume that the Chaplain of the Gaol has offered me conclusive arguments in defence of the Christian Religion. To this, I answer, that from all I know of Mr. Wood, I really respect him, and candidly acknowledge that he is the only person connected with the Gaol whom I do, or can, respect; and I respect him because he has ever brought into my company that prudence, that amiable modesty, that frankness, that conciliating disposition, that disposition to do good, and that good sense, which, I believe, he commonly exhibits; but he has always continued that prudence, &c., in our conversations on the Christian Religion. He has always expressed his own firm conviction of its good foundation; but he has never unfolded to me the grounds and reasons for that conviction. He has, with patience, heard me impugn its good foundation; but he has never examined my grounds and reasons, in controversial arguments with me; and I have too much respect for him to press him to do it. But, Dr. England, I do earnestly desire that you should come and do it. You are the highest Church Dignitary in this county, and I consider, that I have claim upon your attention, and upon every effort that you can make to amend the condition, both of my body and mind.

Second: You say, that *my mind seems to be shut against all conviction*. This is a most unwarrantable imputation. I am open to every species of instruction and conviction, and, I declare, that I have *the most sincere conviction*, that the Christian Religion has no good foundation. That conviction was first formed upon the ground, that there could not possibly be such a God in existence, as the Bible delineates. Having fairly examined this point within myself, and deciding against the Bible, the conjecture was raised, that the narrative or historical part of the Bible could not be true. On this head I have laboriously enquired; and, I find, as I have told you with reasons in my printed letter, that the origin of Christianity is antedated, by near a century; that the scenes laid at Jerusalem are fabulous; and that, no such person as Jesus Christ existed as a real character. With reference to the Old Testament and the Jews, I



can find no trace of them in authentic history, before the Babylonian captivity. The books of Genesis, Exodus, Leviticus, Numbers, Deuteronomy, Joshua, Judges, Samuel, Kings, and Chronicles, have no support in the general history of the world, and will not tally with any other more authentic ancient history, that has been handed down to us.

It is supposed that Troy was situated near to Jerusalem. How is it that the Bible makes no mention of the siege of Troy? How is it that neither Homer nor any other early Grecian writer, has made any mention of the Jews? These questions are put on the supposition that there were no Jewish books prior to the Babylonish captivity. Homer lived four hundred years before that captivity. The Jews seem to have known nothing of the Greeks nor the Greeks of the Jews, before the Babylonish captivity; although they were comparatively neighbours, or must have been so, had the Jews been so powerful as a nation, as their books describe, from Joshua to Chronicles. Therefore, until I have better evidence of their truth, I shall continue to reject them as fabulous.

Third: You say, that *I must be accountable to the Lord and Saviour, now the object of my profane derision*. I am quite at ease upon this subject; but I cannot discover any thing like "profane derision" in my printed letter to you. I maintain that I have fairly analyzed, and fairly stated, the contents of the Gospel; and that I have not gone out of the way to make unfair comparisons and observations. To teach me that I must be accountable to this Lord and Saviour, it is required, that my statements and data be overthrown.

From an assertion so weak and unsupported, I confess, that I am not accustomed to receive conviction. Nor do such words as "glory" and "grace" make any impression upon me, for, when I attempt to define them, they carry no meaning to my mind.

There was a Bishop who once said, (Bishop Louth) "That the *only* means by which religious knowledge can be advanced, is *freedom of inquiry*. An opinion is not therefore false, because it contradicts received notions; but whether true or false, let it be submitted to a fair examination; truth must, in the end, be a gainer by it, and appear with the greater evidence." How strange the discrepancies between the words and actions of Christians! For doing nothing more whatever, than to put the Bishop's recommendation into practice, I have had not only a most shameful imprisonment for more than four years, but a most shameful

treatment in that prison ; and repeated destruction of my property out of it. Free enquiry is all that I ask : all that I have suffered for,

I am, Sir, your obedient Servant,

RICHARD CARLILE.

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COPY OF A LETTER SENT TO THE REVEREND  
MR. RICHMAN, DORCHESTER.

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SIR,

Dorchester Gaol, Jan. 10, 1824.

As you excused yourself, in bringing forward evidence, that such a person as Jesus Christ once lived ; because, that Dr. England had lent me Lardner's Credibility of the Gospel History, which you alleged had fully substantiated that fact ; I take the liberty to acquaint you, that Lardner has nothing approaching to proof or evidence of the kind, which you will find further asserted in the accompanying pamphlet.

As you volunteered to defend the matter now impugned, I invite you to any further answer you can give to my attack upon the merits of the Christian Religion.

I am, Sir, your obedient Servant,

RICHARD CARLILE.

N. B. No answer has been received to this letter.

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MONARCHY AND WAR.

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THE people of Europe were lately informed, that the downfall of Buonaparte was the guarantee for a perpetual peace to the present generation : as, with him fell the last vestige of the French Revolution. The restoration of the Bourbons to France was promised to be a soporific to the warlike and restless spirit of the French people, and that, when once again degraded with such a monarchy, they would be as humble as the Bourbons had been in exile, and as grateful to recover them as they were to return. Undeviating submission to the wishes of the English Government was the only thing to be thought of on the part of France, and the certain result of Pitt's "*glorious struggle*," was to be *indemnity for the past, and security for the future!*" But lo ! ten years have not elapsed before the cry of war is again raised, for the avowed or alleged purpose of pulling down

the Bourbons, and the upholding of Republics, or those revolutionary principles which were no more to be heard of! The Bourbons have forgotten the chasm in their reign, and already menace the DEBT that preserved, not only their monarchical, but their nominal, existence, and the official prints of England are the first to urge the necessity of a new war, to annihilate the Bourbons, and the ANGLO BOURBON DEBT.

This is but one of the common inconsistencies attending monarchical governments, where every movement is the result of individual caprice, and is therefore not much of a matter for wonder; but, in this age of enquiry and improvement, it should form a lesson of more than ordinary impression, and make the question general: *whether such caprices and inconsistencies, such miscalculations and uncertainties, could arise from representative as well as from monarchical governments.*

War cannot be carried on for the interest of a people, unless in resisting an invasion of territory: the permanent welfare of a people can only be ensured by industry and free commerce: but the present threatened war embraces a joint plausibility on the side of the English Government, on the ground, that the independence of the whole Continent of America, is, at this moment, essential to the preservation of that amount of commerce which this country requires; and that an invasion, as anticipated, of that independence, becomes an invasion of our commerce, and an indirect accomplishment of that conquest over the support of this Island which Buonaparte menaced avowedly and directly. It is therefore clear, that an invasion of the independant territory of the States of America is tantamount, *in effect*, to a direct invasion of our own territory.

A singular combination of circumstances has evidently congregated, to bring into opposition, those principles of government, and those principles of commercial welfare, which the present and late ministers have avowed to be alike essential to the general interests of the country; and they have no alternative, but to abandon the one or the other—*which* remains to be seen; for, as the circumstance is new, and the balance of their individual interests doubtful, caprice rather than calculation will decide.

There is something highly satisfactory to the reforming spirit of this country, to see the government as it is, driven to form an alliance with the Republics of America, against the monarchical alliance of Europe, and dreadful as is the thought of war, such a war cannot fail to be fully and gene-



rally popular. The spirit of those who remain at home will beat in unison with that of those who form the navy and army, and something like a moral national union will exist, such as did not exist in the last war; as the principles upon which it was opposed, now form the principles for all to defend.

— For one, I care not *by whom*, so as right is done; but, if I calculate rightly, where national union exists, the conflicting interests of individuals will not be heeded, and the highest qualifications will be sure to advance the possessor to the power of direction. The reformation of abuses will proceed with universal consent; because there can then be no conflicting interests, and the much dreaded *word and principle of reform* will go on, under the denomination of *a repeal of bad laws, and the amendment of the imperfect*. The only doubt and difficulty will be, a want of conviction of the sincerity of those, who will have to change from their past actions and principles, to preserve their present and future places, and employments. Such a change is evidently progressing in the present administration, however slow, and some symptoms are indicated of an action upon that instruction which the increasing knowledge of the age is forcing upon the Ministers.

Other doubts will arise, whether, if such a war be commenced, such a government as the present in this country will avail itself of that great moral force, which it may possess in bringing into action all the revolutionary elements of Europe, against the monarchical powers. A good government, once established in this country, would soon produce good government throughout Europe; for nothing but the necessary impetus, or first force is wanting to put those elements in motion, and to correct every species of misrule from Lisbon to Petersburg. On this head, I confess, that I shall never be able to hold a faith in the good disposition of our reformed ministers, even though they may openly avow their reformation.

Dreadful as is a state of war among mankind, the moral elements of Europe offer no hope of a continued peace, for *peace* makes no part of the *monarchical principle*. We are told, that the Holy Alliance of Europe is founded upon Christian principles; the truth of this I cannot dispute; for, I know, that one part of those principles is—*the sword, and not peace*; therefore, I distinguish a similarity in the monarchical and the Christian principle, and I conclude, that none but governments really formed by the representatives

of the people, will judge rightly of the destructive horrors of war, and the great advantages of universal peace. The monarchical principle is the principle of rule, force, sovereignty, absolute individual power, exhibiting itself in caprice without knowledge, in strife from private and individual revenge, plunging into war and havoc of property from personal affront, or less—mere personal taste and amusement—mere individual ambition—mere pleasure to favourites—treating the people but as a part of the necessary ammunition for destruction; and ceasing the combat only from weariness of attention to the object, or exhaustion of the means for its continuance; but the principle of government by representation cannot be associated with caprice, must combine the greatest amount of knowledge, cannot act from any private quarrel, party strife, or individual revenge, must deliberate, has no interest or taste separate from that of the majority of the community, can never advocate war but for the most just and imperative purposes, and then only for an object well defined, and alike understood by all, and in which all must be equally interested; *such a government is the only guarantee for a succession of good government and their extension for universal peace; and, as such, the representative is the reverse of the monarchical principle, as individual sovereignty is the reverse of sovereignty residing in the majority of the whole people.*

RICHARD CARLILE.

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TO MR. RICHARD CARLILE, DORCHESTER GAOL.

Edinburgh, January 13, in the Year  
1824 of the Ghost-begotten God.

SIR,

It is sometime since I gratified myself with addressing a letter to you, not, I assure you, from the want of inclination; but, like most other folks, the attention of almost all my waking hours is required in business, for the support of my family and to produce my proportion of taxes to support the church and state. But my poor efforts are of little consequence, as you have several able correspondents, men who are not only scientific, but also possessed of good natural talents.

I am extremely happy indeed, to see the improvement you are making in "The Republican." It is a work which ought to be encouraged by every liberal-minded man. I know of no other publication by which men can have their sentiments freely expressed. If scientific and professional men would write for it, and I can see nothing to prevent them, how soon might they blow

up the "baseless fabric" of Christianity? But I am sorry to say, that most, or rather all, of our literary gentlemen, truckle to the clerical interest, knowing it to be an imposition. How often do professional men spoil their works by twisting their subjects to fit the theological opinions of the day? Free scope of expression should be taken by all men who write for the instruction of mankind. We know that the clergy, with a few bigots and interested sycophants, would raise the hue and cry at such freedom of expression; but what of that? We well know the reason, and certainly the interest of the few ought no longer to be a barrier to the welfare of the million.

It has long been my opinion, that so long as religious superstition is spread like a net over the intellects of the human race, they will not make much progress towards happiness or mental improvement. I think it is likely, that more real happiness would be found under a despotism, where no religious mummary was practised, than under a Republican form of Government, where the people were priest-ridden fanatics. In every instance, where the clergy have obtained an ascendancy over the minds of men, their ideas are, as it were, cramped into a nut-shell.

We see that every encouragement is given to those who make any new discoveries in mechanics, and we also see the advantages which mankind have derived from these discoveries. Why then is equal encouragement not given to philosophical and metaphysical discoveries, which I have no doubt would benefit mankind in an equal degree? Ask the men of God that. I am of opinion, that if full liberty were given to men to express their opinions freely, and if they were encouraged to make discoveries in the science of mind, mankind would arrive at such a state of perfection and happiness, that we, at present, can have little idea of. But these stumbling blocks, the clergy, must be dispensed with before that happy time arrive.

I formerly mentioned to you, that I was an enemy to the Christian idolatry; the persecuting spirit of their system, which I have experienced in an indirect manner, has, if possible, fixed my opinion concerning it more firmly. My principal reason for commencing business as a bookseller was, that I might have a better opportunity of coming in contact with liberal-minded men, and of disseminating such books as, I trust, will ultimately tend to uproot the Christian superstition. This is the only revenge which I wish to obtain for the injury I have received.

I am happy to have it again in my power to transmit you a subscription, the sum of £9. 14s. 6d. which I have received from a few of those in this city who admire your unequalled perseverance to obtain civil and religious liberty. The subscribers consider it their imperative duty, as far as circumstances will admit, to assist you in standing out in defence of free discussion, against the malevolence of the persecuting Christians. If you are assisted



while in prison, you have it in your power to do much good to the cause of liberty; and, if your health continues, I have no doubt that you will make the Christians sorry for your imprisonment. But, above all things, I beg you to take care that you are not poisoned. Remember that the worshippers of Jesus will do any thing which they think will tend to support their tottering mythology. They seem to be aware of the impotence of the Carpenter's Wife's Son, and are therefore determined to use every effort of their own, to make up for his impotence.

With best respects, believe me, Sir,

Your sincere friend and well-wisher,

J. AFFLECK.

	s.	d.		s.	d.
David Gardener, every honest			Hell destroyed	1	0
man his ain, and every			C. J., a Friend to Free Dis-		-
rogue a halter	5	0	cussion	5	0
Alison Gardener, wishes that			A few Friends from Fife,		
the glorious light of Reason			Enemies to Persecution of		
may soon supersede the			every kind	6	0
glimmering lamp of Super-			One who de-pises those Jug-		
stition	2	6	glers who make God and		
Robert Affleck	20	0	the Devil their bells, and		
James Affleck	5	0	Heaven and Hell their con-		
Mrs. Affleck	5	0	jurging boxes, in order to		
William Hay	10	0	deceive mankind	1	0
Mrs. Hay	5	0	Robert Hislop	1	0
A liberal Christian	2	6	Hugh Peterie	1	0
Jane Mill, a Christian	1	6	J. M., Slave to no sect	3	0
Alexander Mill	0	6	Two Friends to Free Discus-		
Archibald Campbell	1	0	sion	10	6
John Kesson	1	0	David Leitch	5	0
John Inglis	2	0	George Jeffery, a Lover of		
Alexander Clunie	1	0	Justice	0	6
Elizabeth Sandiland	0	6	Peter Burns	0	6
One who does not like to ride			John Snow	0	6
in a coach when a Sheriff			Robert Reid	0	6
wills it	1	0	Alexander Inch	0	6
William Nelson	2	6	John M'Kenzie	0	6
A. Herriot	0	6	W. R. Scott	0	6
M. W. M., Non mi Ricordo	5	0	Peter D——s	1	6
George Currie	0	6	William Lumsden	5	0
James Hynd	1	0	A Priest Hater	2	0
Nang Si, one dozen prayers			W. M., from 35	5	0
at a groat each	4	0	Mrs. M., ditto	1	0
A. C., a Friend to mental Li-			B. M., ditto	4	0
berty	5	0	E. M., ditto	3	0
I. T.	2	6	S. M.	5	0
George Johnson	2	0	George Smith	0	6
Thomas Finlay, at present			William Mackay	0	6
rather passive, but a little			James Kidd	0	6
more Persecution will make			G. A., Man of feeling	1	0
me an active Enemy to			T. M., a Friend to Mr. Carlile	20	0
Christian Superstition	1	0	Miss M., an Enemy to Per-		
John Goodfellow	1	0	secution	20	0

TO MR. JAMES AFFLECK, 74, ADAM'S SQUARE,  
SOUTHBRIDGE STREET, EDINBURGH.

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Dorchester Gaol, Jan. 19, 1824, though  
a false computation by a century, of

MY GOOD FRIEND, an expiring mythology.

SHARER of my persecution, and one of my most honourable and most sterling open supporters; whatever success I might have met in my career, or may hereafter meet, I shall put a large portion of it to your credit as a debt owed to you. I have many most valuable friends, who think they cannot prudently give me the same open countenance as you do; and this forms a ground for my opponents to throw out to me that I am singular in my opinions, and that I stand almost alone and unsupported: this is a particular retort in this neighbourhood; but, I always reply, that it is the *persecuting spirit of the practical Christianity*, which alone prevents a million of my countrymen from giving me their most warm and open support. They will not see this, and I can only bid them to meet me in fair discussion upon the merits of mythology and *nothology*. This taunt makes me cherish peculiarly all those friends who will expose themselves to give me open countenance; and, I hail them as *kindred spirits*. It is true, as you say, that they who pride themselves in being literary men are subservient, from interest, to religious establishments; but I challenge them, one and all, with the assertion, that intelligence has no kindred with religion; and that distinction in literary pursuits will ever permanently attach to those, who are bold enough to expose the fraud upon mankind which is produced by every thing called religion. Hume, Gibbon, and Burns, are standing instances.

Your opening a bookseller's shop, and the useful new publications which you are putting forth, was the crowning step to the support you have given me. I think too much of the utility of your assistance, ever to be jealous of you as a rival; and between you and me, I hope, there will ever continue an exception to the rule, that two of a trade can never agree. Your address to the Moderator of the Scottish Kirk, offering terms, with grounds and reasons, for reconciliation, with your parody upon "The Shorter Catechism" in defence of the principles we openly advocate, are two excellent publications. The conciliatory pamphlets sent forth by your fellow citizen, Abram Combe, and many of

those by the worthy author of "Jehovah Unveiled" are also highly useful; and to which I shall be glad to give an extensive circulation in London, and other parts of England. I feel too much that there is not enough done to desire to grasp all such publications to myself. I feel that there is room for a hundred such publishers as myself, if they could be found, and I exhort you, and all other friends, to print whatever of the kind you can print, only taking care not to run foul of each other's publications. From my first onset I have continued to throw every shilling I could get hold of into the hands of the printer and stationer, and it grieves me constantly to think that I cannot print more than I do when I see so much waiting to be done. I rather think Mr. Davison, of London, is in a similar predicament; but though slow we are not working the less sure. Every sheet that comes forth is useful. I have been waiting several months under promises and disappointments to find a printer and stereotyper for "The Moralist." The first No. in MS., and portions of others, have been in London several months; but I have now the assurance that it will be in print as soon as this letter can be. The subject of this work must necessarily exhaust itself, unless I mingle with it, as I have some thought of doing, a developement of those scientific discoveries which particularly relate to the moral condition of mankind; therefore, I shall think more about doing it well, and making it useful, than about making it a regular periodical publication.

To your brother, and to all friends in Edinburgh, not forgetting the ladies, who should have been first mentioned, present my thanks and respects, and accept the assurance of my highest esteem.

RICHARD CARLILE.

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Having been requested to print, as a separate tract, my dedication of the 8th Volume of "The Republican" to the Spaniards in exile, under the supposition that more of them will see it in that shape, I have accordingly done it at the price of one penny, with many corrections. R. C.

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#### CELEBRATION OF PAINE'S BIRTH-DAY.

Tickets for the celebration of the Birth-Day of that immortal Son of Freedom, Thomas Paine, may be had, on application, at Mr. R. Carlile's, Fleet Street; Mr. Watling's, Strand; Mr. Griffin's, Holborn; Mr. Davison's, Duke Street, Smithfield, until Tuesday, the 27th instant.—Price 5s. each.



## TO MR. R. CARLILE.

SIR,

Edinburgh, Jan. 1824.

THE letter, from "A Friend," in answer to my observations, published in the 23d number of "The Republican," appears to be written with so good an intention, that he commands my respect; but he has not altered my opinion concerning the merits of Jesus Christ, or the utility of his instructions. Our Friend says, "to talk of believing or denying the Bible, appears to me equally absurd," I am of the same opinion, but this is only stating half the matter of dispute between Christians and unbelievers: it is believing the Bible to be a revelation from God, or denying that point; and whether Jesus was the Son of God, or the Son of Man, and Christianity a divine religion, or a fabric of superstition; these are the grounds of dispute, and they are clear of all the absurdity which belief, or denial, of the Bible would involve; consequently, his comparison of the mixture of bean and wheat, is quite inapplicable to this case.

I do not mean to condemn *the whole* of the Christian scriptures more than our Friend; whatever is really good in them, I respect as much as he does; he will find towards the end of my observations, that I have mentioned several sayings ascribed to Jesus which I entirely approve of; and among them that excellent precept, "all things whatsoever ye would that men should do unto you, do ye even so unto them." I am only sorry that there are so few of that kind, and so many of a very different character in that same discourse.

Our friend says that I have selected the best part of the Bible for my attack, and that I have treated it unfairly; I own that I did select the New Testament for my comments, because it was the *best part* of the Bible; and also the foundation of Christianity; in order to shew how imperfect the best part of it was, and how frail the foundation of the whole: but I do not think that I have treated it unfairly by exposing its errors, when we are expressly told by its numberless supporters that there are no errors in it, nor do I think that I have acted unfairly towards the character of Jesus Christ, by pointing out his foolish sayings, and remarking his omissions, when infinite perfection is ascribed to him. Had his followers not represented him as the Son of God, and his instructions as altogether perfect, and containing every direction necessary for the happiness of mankind, I would not have expected so much from him, nor examined so closely what instructions he gave, or what he omitted. I have only stated such instructions as I think a reformer of mankind ought not to have forgotten; but I did not urge these omissions as evidence that Jesus approved of the crimes which he did not forbid, except when he seemed otherwise to sanction them. I urged, that many of his directions, if put in practice, would en-

courage crime rather than prevent it; and I still think that as a reformer he ought particularly to have forbidden great crimes which were very prevalent: a rooted evil such as slavery, he ought to have marked with his particular disapprobation. That celebrated precept, "whatsoever ye would that men should do unto you, do ye even so to them," however excellent itself, was not sufficient to supply his manifold omissions; particularly as he did not obey it himself, in drowning the herd of swine, and in thanking his father for hardening the peoples' hearts, lest they should repent and be saved. Besides, that admirable direction seems to have been so slightly enforced by Jesus, and so little regarded by his biographers, that it is only once mentioned by Matthew, and is entirely omitted by Mark, Luke, and John; whereas, Jesus often repeated, and they have carefully recorded, many directions and sayings of a pernicious tendency.

Any teacher who proposes to reform mankind, ought to know, and our friend should also know, that no single precept, however excellent in itself, and however solemnly delivered, is sufficient to accomplish it. The understanding of a great proportion of them are either so obtuse, or so obscured, and warped by prejudice, that it is absolutely necessary, in order to promote virtue and prevent crime, to go over the different actions of life, in detail; exhorting to particular duties, and forbidding particular crimes; men placed in different circumstances, are so apt to view the same actions in a different light, that even this admirable precept is quite insufficient to direct them in all cases, and to prevent many great evils that afflict the human race; the bigoted Jew, who would have no dealings with the Samaritan, certainly wished the Samaritan to observe the same conduct towards him.

The North American Indians, and the Arabs, cherish the principle of revenge, and also approve of it in their adversaries: even in our own country, Spring and Langan, and other heroes of the fist, obey this precept in their prize fights: and certainly it has not prevented slavery, besides many other evils, so effectually as an express command would have done.

Our friend says, that the best character in the universe might be blackened on the principle of my observation; but I think the *best character in the universe* need not be afraid to have his conduct and sayings thus examined; and though I have examined the instructions ascribed to Jesus, I have not blackened the best character in the universe.

I am still of opinion that if Jesus came for the purpose of reforming the world, that he was either unequal to the task, or has grossly neglected his duty. To establish that point, was the object of my observations, and our friend has not proved the contrary; this is granting that Jesus did attempt to teach his countrymen, but I have been long of opinion, and you have clearly proved in the last number of "The Republican," that it is very doubtful if

he ever existed as a real character; it is at least certain, that most of the actions ascribed to him, are entire fabrications; there is not sufficient evidence to make an unprejudiced and enquiring mind believe any thing related concerning him; but I shall readily approve of every good precept or direction given in the gospels, whether delivered by him or not.

Our friend apprehends that my observations will do injury to the cause of truth; I would be sorry for such a result, but I think there is little danger; they will probably soon be forgotten, and certainly will never excite so much attention as either to promote or injure any cause very seriously.

In reading over my observations, I observe many typographical errors; in several cases they alter the sense, and in some cases make it no sense at all; but it may be partly owing to my own careless writing.

With respects to yourself, and also to our friend, (who, I wish would contribute oftener to "The Republican,")

I remain, Sir,

Yours sincerely,

ROBERT AFFLECK.

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THE following lines have appeared in one of the cheap publications of the day; but they are worth preserving, and deserve a place in every work whose object is to beat down that system which keeps in power the cold-blooded scoundrel, Ferdinand. The simple fact, that Ferdinand is in existence, shows the inferiority of the monarchical, to the Republican or representative system of Government. In Republics, bad men may make their way to power, but they cannot hold that power when their incapacity to govern, or their wilful attempts to deprive the people of their rights, become apparent. Every one knows Ferdinand is a murderer, and yet he lives, and is in power! Every one mourns the fate of the virtuous Riego, and calls for vengeance upon his murderers; and yet these murders still lord it over the multitude! The reason is this: monarchy is predominant in Europe, and monarchs are above the laws; and so long as hereditary Government is suffered to exist, so long may we expect to see a Ferdinand the 7th. But, though despotism now triumphs in Europe, the increasing intelligence of the people must put an end to it in a short time; and then, Riego! then thou wilt be avenged!

#### TO THE MEMORY OF RIEGO.

FROM the crime stricken land of the coward and slave,  
Thou art gone to the home of the free;  
And liberty sheds that bright tear on thy grave,  
Which she weeps but for martyrs like thee.



When the pure light of victory flash'd from thy sword,  
 And humbled the tyrant's dark pride;  
 Not vainly the crown'd malefactor implor'd  
 That mercy, he always denied.

Though his hands were still red in the innocent blood  
 Of the men who had rais'd him to reign;  
 Yet o'er him the soldier of liberty stood,  
 And smote not the Nero of Spain.

Thou hast taught that mild lesson of virtue to kings,  
 Their gratitude love to forget;  
 But while they are spreading ambition's wild wings,  
 They may hear of thy memory yet.

RIEGO! if blame to thy actions we give,  
 It was, that the vultures who tore  
 The heart-strings of freedom were suffer'd to live,  
 And again dash their talons in gore.

But they who have slain thee, could never disgrace—  
 Thy fate has but brighten'd thy name;  
 And thy deeds shall the bold hand of history trace,  
 On the adamant column of fame.

Yet woe to thy country, her honour and pride  
 Are chain'd at the feet of the vile;  
 Her virtue was smitten by gold, and it died,  
 And her tyrant shall murder and smile.

On the spot where the hero of Freedom is laid,  
 Her champion the latest and first—  
 Shall the hallow'd remembrance of mankind be paid,  
 While his murderer's grave is accurst.

When the heroes of liberty triumph again,  
 They shall mark what thy story declares,  
 That kings, who are once prov'd unworthy to reign,  
 Will punish the weakness that spares!

And thou! who art left to lament o'er his doom,  
 Sad Widow, thy solace shall be,  
 That England's free people shall honour his tomb,  
 And be mourners of virtue with thee! T.

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WILLIAM TUNBRIDGE ACKNOWLEDGES THE RECEIPT OF  
 THE FOLLOWING SUMS:—

Mr. Strickland	1 6	W. J. for December.	
Mr. Ellis and Friends	8 0	To Mr. Carlile	2 0
Mr. Dunn	2 6	To William Tunbridge	1 0
Mr. Riches	1 0	To Mrs. Wright	1 0
Mr. Millard	0 3		

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